

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY CAIRONIACT IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T STATE 159179

NODIS
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PGOV, XF, US

SUBJECT: PROPOSED SCENARIO FOR LONDON MIDDLE EAST TALKS

REF: (A) TEL AVIV 7713; (B) CAIRO 15340

1. FOR CAIRO: WE HAVE NOW REACHED THE POINT WHERE WE
NEED TO BEGIN TO PIN DOWN THE SCENARIO WE HAVE BEEN CON-
SIDERING, AND WHICH WE HAVE EXPLORED IN PRELIMINARY WAY
WITH EGYPTIANS, FOR GETTING ISRAELIS AND EGYPTIANS EN-
GAGED AGAIN IN NEGOTIATIONS. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE APPROACH
SADAT AND/OR KAMEL ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

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--EGYPTIANS WILL HAVE SEEN OUR STATEMENT JUNE 21 ON ISRAELI
RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTIONS. WE BELIEVE THE TIME HAS NOW
COME TO MOVE FORWARD ALONG THE LINES ALREADY DISCUSSED
WITH THEM, BEGINNING WITH FOREIGN-MINISTER LEVEL TALKS IN
LONDON. THE BEST DATES FOR SECRETARY VANCE WOULD BE TO
ARRIVE IN LONDON JULY 10 FOR TALKS JULY 11-12, AFTER WHICH
HE WOULD PROCEED DIRECTLY TO JOIN PRESIDENT AT ECONOMIC
SUMMIT IN GERMANY WHICH BEGINS JULY 13. WE ARE AWARE,
HOWEVER, THAT OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IS SCHEDULED
DURING THIS PERIOD. IF FOR THIS REASON THESE DATES ARE

NOT POSSIBLE FOR KAMEL, SECRETARY COULD MAKE SPECIAL TRIP
TO LONDON JULY 6 FOR TALKS JULY 7-8, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD

STRONGLY PREFER JULY 11-12.

--PURPOSE OF LONDON TALKS AS WE SEE THEM WOULD BE TO
DISCUSS ISRAELI POSITION ON WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES AS
WELL AS EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL ON THIS SUBJECT, AS PART
OF CONTINUING EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION
OF PRINCIPLES AS FRAMEWORK FOR BROADENING NEGOTIATIONS
LOOKING TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT. IN
THIS REGARD, WE APPRECIATE EGYPTIAN WILLINGNESS TO
REVISE THEIR PROPOSAL WITH OUR COMMENTS IN MIND. IN
OUR OPINION, IT IS IMPROVED IN SEVERAL RESPECTS FROM
EARLIER VERSIONS AND NOW CONSTITUTES MORE FULLY
DEVELOPED NEGOTIATING DOCUMENT. IN ORDER THAT IT
CAN BE ON THE TABLE FOR THE LONDON TALKS, WE WOULD
LIKE KAMEL'S AGREEMENT TO TRANSMIT IT TO ISRAELIS TWO OR
THREE DAYS BEFORE LONDON TALKS. (FYI. GIVEN EXPECTED
ISRAELI REACTION TO EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL, WE HAVE CONCLUDED
IT IS BETTER TO PASS IT TO THEM AFTER VICE PRESIDENT'S
VISIT TO ISRAEL SO THAT IT DOES NOT BECOME DIVERSIONARY
ISSUE DURING HIS TALKS THERE. END FYI.)

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--WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE KNOWING IF PROPOSED DATES
FOR LONDON TALKS - PREFERABLY JULY 11-12 - ARE CONVENIENT
FOR KAMEL. WE HAVE NOT YET BROACHED IDEA OF LONDON
TALKS WITH ISRAELIS AND WOULD LIKE TO DO SO IN NEXT
DAY OR SO. WE WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE EARLIEST
POSSIBLE REPLY. ONCE DETAILS HAVE BEEN PINNED DOWN
AND BOTH SADAT AND BEGIN HAVE AGREED, WE WOULD PLAN
TO HAVE PRESIDENT CARTER ADDRESS LETTERS TO PRESIDENT
SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN FORMALLY EXTENDING
INVITATION TO SEND THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS TO THE
LONDON TALKS, WITH A VIEW TO ANNOUNCING SUCH TALKS EARLY
NEXT WEEK (I.E., WEEK OF JUNE 26). WE BELIEVE IT
IMPORTANT THAT ANNOUNCEMENT MAKE CLEAR THAT PURPOSE
OF TALKS IS TO DISCUSS ISRAELI POSITION ON WEST BANK/GAZA
AND EGYPTIAN PROPOSALS ON THIS SAME SUBJECT. WE WOULD
NEED TO STATE PUBLICLY AT TIME OF ANNOUNCEMENT, THEREFORE,
THAT EGYPT HAS INFORMED US ITS PROPOSAL WILL BE CONVEYED
TO ISRAELIS BEFORE LONDON TALKS START.

--EXCEPT FOR SOMEWHAT LATER DATES FOR LONDON TALKS THAN
WE HAD ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED, OUR SUGGESTED STRATEGY
WILL REMAIN THE SAME -- I.E., PRESIDENT CARTER WILL
INVITE PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN TO SEND
THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS TO MEET WITH SECRETARY VANCE IN
LONDON; FOLLOWING THOSE TALKS AND ECONOMIC SUMMIT (WHICH
ENDS JULY 17), SECRETARY WOULD BE PREPARED TO PROCEED
TO MIDDLE EAST IN ACCORDANCE WITH STRATEGY WE HAVE

PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED. EVEN THOUGH ACTUAL TALKS WILL NOT

BEGIN IMMEDIATELY, WE BELIEVE EARLY ANNOUNCEMENT WILL
DEMONSTRATE CLEARLY THAT U.S. IS MOVING INTO A MORE
ACTIVE ROLE AS EGYPTIANS HAVE URGED US TO DO.

--WE ASK THAT EGYPTIANS HOLD IDEA OF LONDON MEETING
CLOSELY UNTIL WE HAVE CHANCE TO DISCUSS IT WITH
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ISRAELIS AND IT HAS BEEN AGREED TO ALL AROUND AND IS
PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED.

2. IF EGYPTIANS TEND TO TAKE MORE NEGATIVE STANCE ABOUT
TALKS AS RESULT OF THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT OVER ISRAELI
REPLIES TO OUR QUESTIONS, YOU SHOULD SAY PRESIDENT
CARTER BELIEVES RENEWED DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN PARTIES
REMAINS HIGHLY IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF U.S. BEING ABLE
TO PLAY HELPFUL ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE DISCUSSED
WITH SADAT. WE ARE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO SHOW
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THAT THE U.S. INTENDS TO ACT
AND IS NOT PREPARED TO ALLOW IMPASSE TO DEVELOP IN
WAKE OF ISRAELI REPLIES. YOU SHOULD ALSO TELL KAMEL
THAT WE UNDERSTAND HIS POINT ABOUT APPEARANCES AS
FAR AS OTHER ARABS ARE CONCERNED. WE WANT HIM AND
SADAT TO KNOW THAT, AS SOON AS WE HAVE HIS AND DAYA'S
CONFIRMATION, WE WILL MAKE URGENT AND FIRM APPROACHES
TO BOTH KING HUSSEIN AND PRINCE FAHD TO EXPLAIN THA-
MEETING IN LONDON IS OUR INITIATIVE. WE WILL EXPLAIN
THAT U.S. ROLE CANNOT BE EFFECTIVE IN NEGOTIATING
VACUUM AND THAT THIS IS OPENING STEP IN SCENARIO FOR
MORE ACTIVE U.S. ROLE. FACT THAT TALKS ARE OUR INITIATIVE
WILL ALSO BE MADE CLEAR IN OUR PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT
WHICH WILL STATE EXPLICITLY INVITATION BEING EXTENDED
BY PRESIDENT CARTER.

3. FOR TEL AVIV: WE NEED TO PUT IDEA OF LONDON TALKS
O ISRAELIS AT EARLY DATE. OUR THINKING, THEREFORE,
WOULD BE FOR YOU TO TAKE THIS UP WITH DAYAN AS SOON
AS WE HAVE REPORT OF EILTS' APPROACH TO EGYPTIANS
SO WE CAN BE CERTAIN THINGS ARE STILL ON THE RAILS
AT THAT END. IDEALLY, IF EILTS CAN GET RESPONSE
FRIDAY, YOU COULD MAKE YOUR APPROACH SATURDAY AND
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OUR PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE MADE EARLY NEXT WEEK.
YOU SHOULD THEREFORE APPROACH DAYAN ALONG FOLLOWING LINES
SUBJECT TO FINAL GO-AHEAD FROM US AND ANY ADJUSTMENTS
THAT MAY BE INDICATED IN LIGHT OF EGYPTIAN REACTION
TO EILTS' APPROACH IN PARAGRAPH 1. ABOVE:

--AS DAYAN KNOWS, WE AGREE WITH ISRAEL ON IMPORTANCE OF A RESUMPTION OF DIRECT EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS. IN RESPONSE TO OUR REPRESENTATIONS ON THIS POINT, SADAT HAS CONSISTENTLY TAKEN POSITION HE WOULD BE READY FOR

RENEWAL OF DIRECT TALKS WHENEVER ISRAEL INTRODUCED "NEW ELEMENTS" INTO THE DISCUSSION.

--EGYPTIAN PUBLIC REACTION TO ISRAELI RESPONSE TO OUR TWO QUESTIONS MAKES CLEAR THEY ARE DISAPPOINTED AND DO NOT SEE MUCH NEW. FROM OUR SOUNDINGS WITH SADAT, WE CONCLUDE THAT HE IS NOT REPEAT NOT READY AT THIS STAGE FOR FORMAL RESUMPTION OF DIRECT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS IN POLITICAL COMMITTEE OR OTHER FORUM IN EITHER EGYPT OR ISRAEL. AS A STEP IN THIS DIRECTION, HOWEVER, OUR SOUNDINGS INDICATE SADAT WILL AGREE TO A PROPOSAL BY PRESIDENT CARTER TO HAVE FOREIGN MINISTER KAMEL MEET WITH DAYAN IN A NEUTRAL CAPITAL IF SECRETARY VANCE WERE ALSO PRESENT FOR AT LEAST SOME OF THEIR SESSIONS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING ISRAELI POSITION ON WEST BANK/GAZA AND ANY NEW IDEAS ISRAELIS MIGHT WISH TO PUT FORWARD, AS WELL AS THE EGYPTIAN WEST BANK/GAZA COUNTERPROPOSAL WHICH EGYPTIANS HAVE BEEN WORKING ON. (IF DAYAN QUERIES ABOUT A SITE NEARER TO YOU MAY SAY WE HAVE SPECIFICALLY EXPLORED THIS WITH SADAT WHO PREFERS EUROPEAN CAPITAL; SADAT POINTS OUT, IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUERY ON THIS ASPECT, THAT KAMEL COULD BE IN FREQUENT TELEPHONIC CONTACT WITH SADAT FOR INSTRUCTIONS.)

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--PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD, IF BOTH SIDES AGREE, BE PREPARED TO SUGGEST TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND PRESIDENT SADAT THAT THEY SEND FOREIGN MINISTERS DAYAN AND KAMEL TO TALKS IN WHICH SECRETARY VANCE WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO TAKE PART. LONDON WOULD BE MOST CONVENIENT SITE FOR SECRETARY, AND THE BEST TIME FOR HIM WOULD BE TO ARRIVE IN LONDON JULY 10 FOR TALKS JULY 11-12 ON ROUTE TO JOIN PRESIDENT CARTER FOR ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN GERMANY WHICH BEGINS JULY 13.

--WE HAVE INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR EILTS TO SOUND OUT KAMEL ON THESE DATES. WE UNDERSTAND THERE WILL BE AN OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING DURING THIS PERIOD AND, IF THESE DATES ARE NOT POSSIBLE FOR HIM WE WILL SUGGEST JULY 7-8 (WITH ARRIVAL IN LONDON JULY 6) AS AN ALTERNATIVE. IF THIS IDEA COMMENDS ITSELF TO ISRAELIS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHETHER THESE DATES ARE CONVENIENT FOR DAYAN. (THIS PARAGRAPH CAN BE MODIFIED IN LIGHT OF ANY INFORMATION WE RECEIVE FROM

EILTS' TALK WITH KAMEL PRIOR TO YOUR APPROACH TO
DAYAN.)

--OUR THOUGHT IS THAT LONDON TALKS WOULD TAKE PLACE
IN INFORMAL FORMAT WITH MIX OF TRILATERAL AND BILATERAL

MEETINGS. HOPEFULLY EXPLORATION WOULD PROVE FRUITFUL
ENOUGH TO ENABLE FURTHER DIRECT CONTACTS TO BE
SCHEDULED, PERHAPS AT DIFFERENT VENUE. IN ADDITION,
SECRETARY WOULD BE PREPARED TO FOLLOW UP THROUGH
PERSONAL VISIT TO MIDDLE EAST AFTER SUMMIT, IF THIS
SEEMED NECESSARY TO KEEP NEGOTIATING PROCESS GOING.

--IF GOI IS AGREEABLE TO THIS PROPOS ,PRESIDENT
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CARTER WOULD PLAN TO ADDRESS LETTERS TO SADAT AND BEGIN
FORMALLY EXTENDING INVITATION TO SEND THEIR FOREIGN
MINISTERS TO THE TALKS, WITH A VIEW TO ANNOUNCING
SUCH TALKS EARLY IN WEEK OF JUNE 26.

--WE WILL APPROACH EGYPTIANS ABOUT TRANSMITTING THEIR
WEST BANK/GAZA COUNTERPROPOSAL TO ISRAELIS (PRE-
SUMABLY THROUGH US) PRIOR TO LONDON TALKS SO THAT
ISRAELIS WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY IT IN ADVANCE
AND SO THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF LONDON TALKS CAN STATE
THAT THE PURPOSE IS TO DISCUSS (A) ISRAELI POSITION
ON WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES AND (B) EGYPTIAN PROPOSALS
ON THIS SAME SUBJECT WHICH WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE
TO ISRAEL BEFORE TALKS BEGIN.

--FINALLY, WE URGE THAT ISRAELIS HOLD IDEA OF LONDON
MEETING CLOSELY UNTIL IT HAS BEEN AGREED ALL AROUND
AND IS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED. VANCE

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